

S.P.
C
175
177
167

again in 1827 Jungmann in a moment of discouragement gave vent to this sad cry: "We have had the sad fate of being the witnesses and the accessories of the final annihilation of our mother tongue."

S.P.
C
175
178
517

Nevertheless, certain men succeeded in awakening the nation, in saving what might be saved. The history of the Czech literature since the second half of the eighteenth century shows us in an admirable fashion the work which a little group of men, obscure but impassioned, taken with a great idea, have been able to accomplish.

Aroused by the progress of liberalism in Europe, by the "Josephinism," they succeeded in reviving an interest in national affairs, in shaking the people out of their torpor, at first among the lowly ones who had preserved the language, then in the intellectual class. This Czech people, whose existence appeared doubtful one hundred years ago, of whom the Viennese educator Kindermann von Schulstein, basing himself upon the new scholastic program, had proclaimed the approaching disappearance, this Czech people, is today conscious of itself, it forms a compact mass of six and one-half million persons and constitutes an impregnable citadel against which the powerless efforts of the germanism bent upon the ruin of the Slavs come and break. There is only one thing to regret and that is that political conditions have prevented the union and assimilation of the two million Slovaks settled in northern Hungary.

S.P.
C
101

S 21. National Frontiers. --The compact mass of the Czechs and Slovaks are distributed among six administrative regions: in Austria, in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, and the Duchy of Silesia, in Hungary, and, for a few segments, in Prussian Silesia.

The ethnographic boundary which separates the Slovaks from the other Czechs runs across Moravia; but the Slovaks of Moravia are so closely associated with the life of the Czech nation and are drawing so much closer to them each day that one may /112/ consider as the true boundary the political frontier which separates Moravia from Hungary. There, in the Carpathians, a wall stands which separates the two groups, Czechs and Slovaks, and unless unforeseen circumstances intervene, it is to be feared that their former unity will wind up in a dualism: Czechs on the one side, Slovaks on the other.

Thanks to a series of ethnographic studies, and also to the acute

175* reconciliation with society. The new parliament was never allowed to function efficiently, and excessive parcellation of parties within it also prevented the formation of a workable united front against the government, though the fundamental tone was one of hostility.

668
642 The first World War began in this atmosphere of mutual distrust between government and society, and only a brief interval of patriotic *entente cordiale* intervened before official incompetence as revealed by repeated military defeats once more opened the breach, which was further widened by a complete collapse of transportation and economic life. General resentment was intensified by evidence of a total lack of comprehension of the situation by the tsar and his advisers, and culminated in the events of March, 1917, by which the tsar was forced to abdicate and a democratic regime was set up. The vacillations of successive moderate provisional governments played into the hands of the Bolshevik leaders, who could always bank on the support of the urban factory workers and certain sections of the army, and on November 7 they were masters of Petrograd. The subsequent fortunes of the Soviets are so close to our own times as to be matters of common knowledge.

175* The chasm which existed between government and society
829 between 1894 and the first World War did not prevent simultaneous developments in Russian intellectual life. In spite of
538 government surveillance and occasional restriction of educational facilities, a highly educated and talented middle class had evolved in Russia during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Though literature declined in some degree after the death of Dostoevski, Tolstoi lived on to combine moral philosophy and creative letters until 1910. Chekhov's later plays expressed his own prevision that an epoch was about to end. A younger generation of prose writers revived traditional Russian realism in a more individualistic spirit without regard to the political and social aims that had inspired their predecessors. In poetry, symbolism sought to penetrate and express deeper

German and Slav

137

and industry by German immigrants to Bohemia and Poland ^{175*} require no demonstration. By virtue of its close political asso- ¹⁷⁷ciation with western Europe, Bohemia was speedily drawn into ⁶⁴⁸European intellectual life, and as early as the thirteenth century Bohemian authors were reproducing in their own language the forms and content of German medieval literature. International culture was still more widely disseminated after the foundation of the University of Prague in 1348, and the Hussite movement produced a wave of intellectual activity which lasted until the Thirty Years' War in the seventeenth century.

Poland, because of its comparative remoteness and political ^{175*}instability, was not subject to the same cultural stimuli, and ¹⁷⁷the services rendered by the German settlers in Polish terri- ⁵¹⁷tory were exclusively practical and materialistic. The influence of the Polish crown was never strong enough, nor were its holders cultured enough, to exert a civilizing influence comparable to that which radiated from Prague. Only in the six- ^[891]teenth century do we meet with a striking development of Polish literature, and here the productive influences were more those of the Renaissance than specifically German, especially since local education was dominated by the Jesuits and strictly limited to the classical curriculum. While German economic influence was strong in both the great western Slavic states, it was Bohemia which profited the most from the absorption of German culture, and it was not until the seventeenth century that political events halted the intellectual advance so auspiciously begun.

Yet it was in Bohemia that the first seeds of a new Slavic ¹⁷⁶racial consciousness sprouted early in the nineteenth century. ⁸¹⁴The age of enlightenment had emphasized the ideals of humanity, tolerance, and culture, and these ideals were spread throughout the Austro-Hungarian monarchy by the reforms of Joseph II. As a matter of fact, the principle of nationality was first formulated by a German, for it was Goethe's great friend and mentor Johann Gottfried Herder, who declared that "the

186*
829 can not quote all his declamations spread over many pages about the *tsar batyushka* and the love of the Russian people for him.

After these statements he turns his attacks against Austria and destroys the conceptions of Austroslavism. He also demonstrates that Slavs, because of their geographical situation, their religious differentiation, cultural differences, and so on are unable to organize any federation. They are weak, they are simply fragments of one nation, and because of that "the concept of federative states has no sense."²⁰

The conclusion is obvious: "There remains a third road, the only one which is sure and has a future—the union of all Slavs with Russia."²¹ Then come all kinds of apologetic epithets, comparisons, in which Russia appears as a lighthouse in the dark night, assertions that the Slavs must not start their new life with the declining West but with rising Russia. "Russia . . . is the mother and the leader of all our national family." He is aware, however, of some difficulties as far as the attitude of other Slavs toward Russia is concerned. But he solves them easily according to his assertion that the only Slavs who hate Russia are Poles. By their whole civilization they are opposed to Russia. Poles did not want, as did the Russians, to subordinate themselves to one monarchic will. They did not know how to organize their life, and they had been defeated by Russia, to the great and lasting benefit of all of the Slavs. Had Poland resisted, Russia would have been far away from Europe and would not be able to help the Slavs; and of course the Poles never had any qualifications for leadership among the Slavs.

186*
829
● 517 With the Czechs the situation is less complicated: "In their present prosaic conditions they only weakly attract other Slavs. Although literature is diligently developed, in higher learning, in philosophy and history, nothing outstanding appears, with the exception of Palacký's *History of Bohemia*. And in arts and poetry the Czechs do not possess, with the exception of Mácha, a single

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

PANSLAVISM

841

creative talent . . . material prosperity is the idol toward which the whole nation tends."²² The Czechs cannot remain in their seclusion or create anything great—therefore they must join a greater entity. The so-called Illyrians and Catholic Croats—"flabby," "seduced by Austria," "coaxed by Czechs," will be "inspired by the Slavic idea as soon as they rightly understand it." Of course Serbia and Bulgaria will agree. The end of the book is a kind of glorious finale. He brings an enumeration of all the great battles in Russian history. He stresses the fact that the main power of Russia is in the union of the people with the tsar, that the learned people are work-loving and conscious of the greatness of Russia; that the army is deeply devoted to the tsar and to the fatherland; the clergy, "pious and zealous"; the people, "kind, strong and obedient."

Then comes the "Russian Geography"—"Russia represents nine Turkish empires, twenty-eight Scandinavias, twenty-nine Austrias, thirty Germanies, and thirty-six Frances. The power of Russia is spread from the north-eastern corner of Asia, from Kamchatka, to the distant north of America, from the distant European North almost to the Carpathians, Danube, Black Sea, and farther to Ararat itself." Then follow figures concerning export and import, enumerations of Great Russian names, and so on. He concludes that everything works to the advantage of Russia—"Friend and enemy, war and peace, revolts and quietness;—Russia cast off the whole of Europe. She had the decisive voice at the Vienna Congress. . . . With one arm she embraces Asia, the second extends to America; inaccessible to Europe, she is a neighbor of the rotten Austria and the dead Turkish corps." Russia is the agglomeration of great and small things, of things divided and united; she is full of contradictions—Christianity, paganism, Islam, Byzantine churches, mosques, Catholic cathedrals. "She combines Europe with Asia, East with West, the dawn with the sunset, in other words, in the Russian kingdom the sun never sets."

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 146-150.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-152.